

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 074584

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN NEW YORK 1047 SENT SECSTATE DATED
APRIL 1.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1047

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR SCALI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, VS, VN

SUBJECT: VIETNAM: UN HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS

1. I SPENT OVER AN HOUR APRIL 1 PRESSING WALDHEIM STRONGLY TO
ISSUE A PUBLIC APPEAL CALLING ON PARTIES NOT TO INTERFERE WITH
EFFORTS TO ENABLE REFUGEES TO REACH DESTINATIONS OF THEIR OWN
CHOICE. WALDHEIM ARGUED ADAMANTLY THAT PUBLIC APPEAL WOULD BE
WORSE THAN USELESS AND WRECK EFFORT BY QUIET DIPLOMACY TO ENABLE
UNICEF AND UNRCR TO EXPAND THEIR RELIEF EFFORTS IN COMMUNIST
CONTROLLED AREAS. BACKED BY URQUHART AND GUYER, WALDHEIM FURTHER
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ARGUED THAT IT NOT PHYSICALLY POSSIBLE TO MOVE HUNDREDS OF

THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES. EVEN IF IT WERE, HE SAID, IT SEEMED LIKELY THAT EVACUATION WOULD ONLY MOVE REFUGEES TO NEW LOCALES FOR FURTHER SUFFERING. WITH AMBASSADOR SCHAUFEL, I ARGUED THAT NORTH VIETNAMESE AND PRG MIGHT PROVE LESS ADAMANT THAN EXPECTED IN RESPONSE TO THE FORCE OF WORLD OPINION THAT AN APPEAL BY WALDHEIM COULD AROUSE. WALDHEIM FINALLY SAID HE WOULD EXAMINE QUESTION IN POSITIVE FRAME OF MIND WITH REPS OF HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES AT SCHEDULED ACC MEETING IN ROME.

2. I OPENED SESSION BY REFERRING TO YESTERDAY'S LETTER TO SYG FROM YOU. I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR UN EFFORTS TO DATE BUT NOTED HIS PUBLIC APPEAL OF MARCH 31 HAD NOT CALLED ON PARTIES TO AVOID INTERFERING IN EVACUATION. I THEN PROVIDED HIM WITH DETAILED ACCOUNT OF REFUGEE SITUATION AS OF 1 APRIL, AND DESCRIBED WHAT WE WERE DOING ON OUR PART. I EMPHASIZED BOTH URGENCY OF SUGGERING AND FACT THAT TWENTY SHIPS, INCLUDING SIX OF US REGISTRY, WERE AVAILABLE FOR EVACUATION ALONG COAST FROM DANANG - SOUTH. I TOLD HIM THAT EVEN AS WE SPOKE YOU WERE MEETING WITH YOUR TOP AIDES TO SEE WHAT MORE COULD BE DONE.

3. WALDHEIM TAHNKED ME FOR OUR SITREP AND SAID IT STARKLY DESCRIBED CONTEXT OF HIS APPEAL OF YESTERDAY EVENING. HE THEN GAVE US RUN DOWN ON UN EFFORTS BASED ON TELEGRAM JUST RECEIVED FROM SADRUDDIN. TEXT OF SADRUDDIN'S REPORT, GIVEN US IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: 1. FURTHER MY 404, MET AMBASSADOR LE VAN LOI RVN OBSERVER AT 1100 AND HUYNH CONG TAM DEPUTY CHIEF PRG LIAISON OFFICE AT 1200 TODAY SUNDAY AND CONVEYED SUBSTANCE PARA 2 YOUR 156.

QUOTE: 2. HIS MOST APPRECIATED BOTH SIDES WHO ASSURED ME MESSAGE WOULD BE CONVEYED AT ONCE THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

QUOTE: 3. APART FROM POLITICALLY ORIENTED EXPOSE BLAMING OTHER SIDE FOR REFUGEE SITUATION CONCRETE NEW ELEMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: AAA ON PART OF THE RVN LEVAN LOI EXPRESSED
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HOPE IN PERSONAL REPEAT PERSONAL CAPACITY THAT UN COULD CONTRIBUTE TO SAFE EVACUATION OF AT LEAST LIMITED NUMBER OF REFUGEES FAMILIES IN DA NANG AMONGST THE ONE AND A HALF MILLION DISPLACED IN CASES WHERE HEADS OF FAMILIES IN ARMED FORCES HAVE BEEN OR WILL SUCCEED IN BEING EVACUATED SEPARATELY. TRANSPORTS INCLUDING SOME AUSTRALIAN SHIPS WERE ALLEGEDLY ON THEIR WAY WHEN DA NANG FELL AND ARE APPARENTLY AVAILABLE. HE FELT THAT PRESENCE

PRG LIAISON OFFICE GENEVA WHICH "SUPPOSED TO DEAL WITH HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS" WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR UN AND OR RED CROSS TO INITIATE SUCH A MOVE. AMBASSADOR FELT SURE THAT "AS IN PAST NO ONE WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE ONCE COMMUNIST TAKE OVER IMPLEMENTED". I STRESSED THAT THIS WAS CLOSELY LINKED WITH POLITICAL AND MILITARY SITUATION AND ALTOGETHER DIFFERENT FROM UNHCR ROLE IN AREA UNTIL NOW WHICH HE RECOGNIZED AND ACCEPTED. BBB TAM OF PRG STRESSED THAT DA NANG REFUGEES WERE VICTIMS OF PANIC RESULTING FROM RVN SCARE CAMPAIGN BUT THAT IN "LIBERATED AREAS" PEOPLE RESETTLING QUICKLY WHICH HE SAID WOULD MOST LIKELY OCCUR DA NANG AREA AS WELL. HE MENTIONED THAT MORE THAN 4 MILLION REFUGEES WERE PRESENTLY IN PRG ZONES AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD SHORTLY EXTEND NEW REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE TO HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS SO AS TO RELIEVE ENORMOUS PRESSURE ON LIMITED LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND POPULATION.

QUOTE: 4. AM STRENGTHENING UNHCR SAIGON PRESENCE AND WILL IF NECESSARY ASK STAFF MEMBER VIENTIANE REGIONAL LIAISON OFFICE TO RENEW CONTACTS WITH PRG HANOI OR SOUTH.

QUOTE: 5. LOOK FORWARD ROME MEETING. WARMEST REGARDS.
END QUOTE.

4. I VOICED DEEP APPRECIATION OF STEPS WALDHEIM HAD TAKEN THROUGH UNHCR. I THEN REITERATED THAT OUR SPECIAL CONCERN IS FOR THOSE WHO DESPARATELY WANT TO MOVE FROM WHERE THEY ARE TO SAFE HAVEN. ONE SINGLE GOVERNMENT HAD SPOKEN OUT AGAINST EVACUATION. HOWEVER, IN MANY QUARTERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THERE IS MOUNTING DEMAND FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION AND WE BELIEVE THAT SYG PUBLIC APPEAL COULD BE EFFECTIVE. I NOTED THAT EVEN CHINESE SO FAR HAD BEEN CAUTIOUS AND LOW KEY.
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5. WALDHEIM WENT ON TO EXPRESS HIS STRONGLY-HELD VIEW THAT PUBLIC STATEMENT AS OPPOSED TO QUIET DIPLOMACY WOULD NOT BE USEFUL AND WOULD IN FACT BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN VIEW OF HANOI'S COMMENTS. TO ASK FOR SOMETHING SURE TO BE REJECTED COULD DAMAGE ABILITY OF UNICEF AND UNHCR LATER TO HELP GROWING MASSES OF REFUGEES. NOTING THAT HE HAD NOT CONSULTED CHINESE OR RUSSIANS, WALDHEIM SAID HE BELIEVED THE THING TO BE DONE NOW WAS FURTHER DIRECT CONTACT BY UN WITH HANOI AND PRG. BOTH LABOUISSIE (UNICEF) AND UNHCR REP STRONGLY SUPPORTED HIS VIEW THAT TO BUCK HANOI ON POLITICALLY CHARGED EVACUATION ISSUE WOULD THREATEN THEIR ABILITY PROVIDE EFFECTIVE AID. WALDHEIM SAID COMMUNIST SIDE FELT IT WAS WINNING AND WINNERS DISINCLINED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN HOUR OF VICTORY. HE WRYLY REFERRED TO OUR OWN EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE TURKISH

POLICY RE CYPRUS.

6. IN ASIDE, WALDHEIM SHOWED REAL EMOTION IN ALLUSIONS TO AMERICAN TELEVISION COVERAGE OF SUFFERING OF REFUGEES. HE MADE OBVIOUSLY SINCERE REFERENCE TO EXTREME COURAGE OF AMERICAN EVACUATION PILOTS AT DANANG.

7. WALDHEIM REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO DIFFICULTY OF DEPOLITICIZING EVACUATION QUESTION SINCE REFUGEES APPARENTLY INCLUDE LARGE NUMBERS OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS. I COUNTERED WITH REFERENCE TO UN RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENFORCEMENT OF ARTICLE 13 OF THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IF IT WERE THE BEST WE COULD DO I WOULD FAVOR FOCUSING ON EVACUATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN ONLY. WALDHEIM MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE DID NOT CONSIDER US MOTIVATED BY HIDDEN INTENT TO EVACUATE SOLDIERS BUT THAT ISSUE WAS NEVERTHELESS REAL ONE TO COMMUNISTS. TO MY RENEWED ARGUMENT THAT APPEAL BY HIM WOULD MOBILIZE INTERNATIONAL OPINION, REINFORCE EFFORTS TO RAISE MONEY FOR REFUGEES AND BE GOOD FOR IMAGE OF UN, WALDHEIM REPLIED THAT PROBLEM NOT ONE OF "MEANS". THE PROBLEM, HE SAID, IS ONE OF GETTING POLITICAL AGREEMENT OF HANOI AND PRG. THEY WOULD ACCUSE HIM OF A POLITICAL ACT TO EMBARRASS THEM AT TIME THEY WERE PREPARED TO PROVIDE AID TO REFUGEES IN PLACE.

HE NOTED THAT NORTH VIETNAMESE CLAIMED THAT THEY ALREADY HAD FOUR MILLION REFUGEES IN AREAS UNDER THEIR CONTROL.
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SCHAUFLE INTERJECTED HERE THAT MAGNITUDE OF HANOI'S REFUGEE PROBLEM MIGHT ENHANCE ITS WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO UN APPEAL TO ALLOW REFUGEES TO BE EVACUATED TO SAFER AREAS.

9. NEAR END OF CONVERSATION, WALDHEIM TOOK INITIATIVE TO PROMISE THAT HE WOULD CONSULT HIS COLLEAGUES IN ROME ABOUT PROBLEM. HE REGRETTED THAT HE COULD NOT GIVE ME "CLEAR-CUT ANSWER" AT THIS TIME BUT HE WOULD STAY IN TOUCH. I URGED THAT HE MAKE POSITIVE EFFORT TO FIND BASIS FOR A STRONG PUBLIC APPEAL. I NOTED THAT THERE IS AN INCREASING DEMAND IN US THAT WE TURN TO UN. I DID NOT WISH US CONGRESS AND PUBLIC TO BE ASKING WHY UN HAD NOT DONE MORE.

10. COMMENT: I THINK THERE IS VERY LITTLE CHANCE WALDHEIM WILL AGREE TO MAKE PUBLIC APPEAL ON EVACUATION. HE SEEMS FAR MORE CONCERNED WITH MAINTAINING IMPARTIAL CREDENTIALS AS SOURCE OF AID TO REFUGEES ONCE IT CLEAR THEY CANNOT MOVE ELSEWHERE. HE SEEMED GENUINELY CONVINCED THAT PUBLIC APPEAL WOULD BE USELESS AND PROBABLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. I BELIEVE WE PROBABLY HAVE MOTIVATED HIM TO MAKE STRONGER EFFORT THROUGH QUIET DIPLOMACY. BUT IT EXCEEDINGLY UNLIKELY HE WILL STICK HIS NECK OUT PUBLICLY

AS LONG AS HANOI OBJECTS. I AM SATISFIED HE RECOGNIZES OUR
APPEAL TO HIM WAS MADE IN GOOD FAITH AND THAT US POLICY IS AND
WILL BE IN WEEKS AHEAD MOTIVATED BY GENUINE HUMANITARIAN
CONCERN. SCALI UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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